

THE CONTACT PERIOD

rubber trade, and further contact was provided by the es-175
 tablishment of the mission of Bacabal on the upper Ta-439
 pajá in 1872. The Silesian priest in charge attempted to 648
 protect the Indians from the traders and is said by To-175
 canteus to have told them, "My children, you owe nothing 439
 to the contrabandist regatões; now you will work only for 648
 yourselves, your women, and your children." * The priest's 797
 technique for protecting the Indians was, quite simply, to
 monopolize their trade. The rubber interests were power-
 ful, however, and in 1876 he was dismissed upon com-
 plaint of the businessmen of Itaituba, and the mission was
 abandoned.

Concurrent with the rise and fall of the mission of Ba-175
 cabal, increasing numbers of permanent houses of com-439
 merce were established on the banks of the upper Tapajá 648
 and its tributaries. The importance of rubber had resulted
 in regular exploitation of the resource, and the system of
 establishing proprietary rights to rubber regions was ex-
 tended to the upper Tapajá. This was done through
 grants by the state or purchase from it, or by simple squat-
 ter rights perpetuated by force and registry on the tax
 rolls. Since that time, the basic social and economic orga-
 nization for the exploitation of rubber has changed little,
 although the violence of the boom days has subsided and
 the Tapajá has declined into an economically stagnant,
 poverty-stricken backwater.

The Mundurucu became absorbed into the patron-client (44) •
 system and they also came into closer proximity to the
 whites, who poured into the region as the rubber boom
 accelerated. Although the larger part of the Indian pop-
 ulation was in the economic wilderness and collected
 rubber for only brief periods, there was a steady exodus of (44)
 people to the major streams. Tocanteus states that many

* Tocanteus, 1877, p. 143.

THE CONTACT PERIOD

¹⁷⁵ ⁶⁴⁸ ¹⁷⁶ ⁶⁴⁹ ¹⁷⁷ ⁶⁵⁰ ¹⁷⁸ ⁶⁵¹ ¹⁷⁹ ⁶⁵² ¹⁸⁰ ⁶⁵³ ¹⁸¹ ⁶⁵⁴ ¹⁸² ⁶⁵⁵ ¹⁸³ ⁶⁵⁶ ¹⁸⁴ ⁶⁵⁷ ¹⁸⁵ ⁶⁵⁸ ¹⁸⁶ ⁶⁵⁹ ¹⁸⁷ ⁶⁶⁰ ¹⁸⁸ ⁶⁶¹ ¹⁸⁹ ⁶⁶² ¹⁹⁰ ⁶⁶³ ¹⁹¹ ⁶⁶⁴ ¹⁹² ⁶⁶⁵ ¹⁹³ ⁶⁶⁶ ¹⁹⁴ ⁶⁶⁷ ¹⁹⁵ ⁶⁶⁸ ¹⁹⁶ ⁶⁶⁹ ¹⁹⁷ ⁶⁷⁰ ¹⁹⁸ ⁶⁷¹ ¹⁹⁹ ⁶⁷² ²⁰⁰ ⁶⁷³ ²⁰¹ ⁶⁷⁴ ²⁰² ⁶⁷⁵ ²⁰³ ⁶⁷⁶ ²⁰⁴ ⁶⁷⁷ ²⁰⁵ ⁶⁷⁸ ²⁰⁶ ⁶⁷⁹ ²⁰⁷ ⁶⁸⁰ ²⁰⁸ ⁶⁸¹ ²⁰⁹ ⁶⁸² ²¹⁰ ⁶⁸³ ²¹¹ ⁶⁸⁴ ²¹² ⁶⁸⁵ ²¹³ ⁶⁸⁶ ²¹⁴ ⁶⁸⁷ ²¹⁵ ⁶⁸⁸ ²¹⁶ ⁶⁸⁹ ²¹⁷ ⁶⁹⁰ ²¹⁸ ⁶⁹¹ ²¹⁹ ⁶⁹² ²²⁰ ⁶⁹³ ²²¹ ⁶⁹⁴ ²²² ⁶⁹⁵ ²²³ ⁶⁹⁶ ²²⁴ ⁶⁹⁷ ²²⁵ ⁶⁹⁸ ²²⁶ ⁶⁹⁹ ²²⁷ ⁷⁰⁰ ⁷⁰¹ ⁷⁰² ⁷⁰³ ⁷⁰⁴ ⁷⁰⁵ ⁷⁰⁶ ⁷⁰⁷ ⁷⁰⁸ ⁷⁰⁹ ⁷¹⁰ ⁷¹¹ ⁷¹² ⁷¹³ ⁷¹⁴ ⁷¹⁵ ⁷¹⁶ ⁷¹⁷ ⁷¹⁸ ⁷¹⁹ ⁷²⁰ ⁷²¹ ⁷²² ⁷²³ ⁷²⁴ ⁷²⁵ ⁷²⁶ ⁷²⁷ ⁷²⁸ ⁷²⁹ ⁷³⁰ ⁷³¹ ⁷³² ⁷³³ ⁷³⁴ ⁷³⁵ ⁷³⁶ ⁷³⁷ ⁷³⁸ ⁷³⁹ ⁷⁴⁰ ⁷⁴¹ ⁷⁴² ⁷⁴³ ⁷⁴⁴ ⁷⁴⁵ ⁷⁴⁶ ⁷⁴⁷ ⁷⁴⁸ ⁷⁴⁹ ⁷⁵⁰ ⁷⁵¹ ⁷⁵² ⁷⁵³ ⁷⁵⁴ ⁷⁵⁵ ⁷⁵⁶ ⁷⁵⁷ ⁷⁵⁸ ⁷⁵⁹ ⁷⁶⁰ ⁷⁶¹ ⁷⁶² ⁷⁶³ ⁷⁶⁴ ⁷⁶⁵ ⁷⁶⁶ ⁷⁶⁷ ⁷⁶⁸ ⁷⁶⁹ ⁷⁷⁰ ⁷⁷¹ ⁷⁷² ⁷⁷³ ⁷⁷⁴ ⁷⁷⁵ ⁷⁷⁶ ⁷⁷⁷ ⁷⁷⁸ ⁷⁷⁹ ⁷⁸⁰ ⁷⁸¹ ⁷⁸² ⁷⁸³ ⁷⁸⁴ ⁷⁸⁵ ⁷⁸⁶ ⁷⁸⁷ ⁷⁸⁸ ⁷⁸⁹ ⁷⁹⁰ ⁷⁹¹ ⁷⁹² ⁷⁹³ ⁷⁹⁴ ⁷⁹⁵ ⁷⁹⁶ ⁷⁹⁷ ⁷⁹⁸ ⁷⁹⁹ ⁸⁰⁰ ⁸⁰¹ ⁸⁰² ⁸⁰³ ⁸⁰⁴ ⁸⁰⁵ ⁸⁰⁶ ⁸⁰⁷ ⁸⁰⁸ ⁸⁰⁹ ⁸¹⁰ ⁸¹¹ ⁸¹² ⁸¹³ ⁸¹⁴ ⁸¹⁵ ⁸¹⁶ ⁸¹⁷ ⁸¹⁸ ⁸¹⁹ ⁸²⁰ ⁸²¹ ⁸²² ⁸²³ ⁸²⁴ ⁸²⁵ ⁸²⁶ ⁸²⁷ ⁸²⁸ ⁸²⁹ ⁸³⁰ ⁸³¹ ⁸³² ⁸³³ ⁸³⁴ ⁸³⁵ ⁸³⁶ ⁸³⁷ ⁸³⁸ ⁸³⁹ ⁸⁴⁰ ⁸⁴¹ ⁸⁴² ⁸⁴³ ⁸⁴⁴ ⁸⁴⁵ ⁸⁴⁶ ⁸⁴⁷ ⁸⁴⁸ ⁸⁴⁹ ⁸⁵⁰ ⁸⁵¹ ⁸⁵² ⁸⁵³ ⁸⁵⁴ ⁸⁵⁵ ⁸⁵⁶ ⁸⁵⁷ ⁸⁵⁸ ⁸⁵⁹ ⁸⁶⁰ ⁸⁶¹ ⁸⁶² ⁸⁶³ ⁸⁶⁴ ⁸⁶⁵ ⁸⁶⁶ ⁸⁶⁷ ⁸⁶⁸ ⁸⁶⁹ ⁸⁷⁰ ⁸⁷¹ ⁸⁷² ⁸⁷³ ⁸⁷⁴ ⁸⁷⁵ ⁸⁷⁶ ⁸⁷⁷ ⁸⁷⁸ ⁸⁷⁹ ⁸⁸⁰ ⁸⁸¹ ⁸⁸² ⁸⁸³ ⁸⁸⁴ ⁸⁸⁵ ⁸⁸⁶ ⁸⁸⁷ ⁸⁸⁸ ⁸⁸⁹ ⁸⁹⁰ ⁸⁹¹ ⁸⁹² ⁸⁹³ ⁸⁹⁴ ⁸⁹⁵ ⁸⁹⁶ ⁸⁹⁷ ⁸⁹⁸ ⁸⁹⁹ ⁹⁰⁰ ⁹⁰¹ ⁹⁰² ⁹⁰³ ⁹⁰⁴ ⁹⁰⁵ ⁹⁰⁶ ⁹⁰⁷ ⁹⁰⁸ ⁹⁰⁹ ⁹¹⁰ ⁹¹¹ ⁹¹² ⁹¹³ ⁹¹⁴ ⁹¹⁵ ⁹¹⁶ ⁹¹⁷ ⁹¹⁸ ⁹¹⁹ ⁹²⁰ ⁹²¹ ⁹²² ⁹²³ ⁹²⁴ ⁹²⁵ ⁹²⁶ ⁹²⁷ ⁹²⁸ ⁹²⁹ ⁹³⁰ ⁹³¹ ⁹³² ⁹³³ ⁹³⁴ ⁹³⁵ ⁹³⁶ ⁹³⁷ ⁹³⁸ ⁹³⁹ ⁹⁴⁰ ⁹⁴¹ ⁹⁴² ⁹⁴³ ⁹⁴⁴ ⁹⁴⁵ ⁹⁴⁶ ⁹⁴⁷ ⁹⁴⁸ ⁹⁴⁹ ⁹⁵⁰ ⁹⁵¹ ⁹⁵² ⁹⁵³ ⁹⁵⁴ ⁹⁵⁵ ⁹⁵⁶ ⁹⁵⁷ ⁹⁵⁸ ⁹⁵⁹ ⁹⁶⁰ ⁹⁶¹ ⁹⁶² ⁹⁶³ ⁹⁶⁴ ⁹⁶⁵ ⁹⁶⁶ ⁹⁶⁷ ⁹⁶⁸ ⁹⁶⁹ ⁹⁷⁰ ⁹⁷¹ ⁹⁷² ⁹⁷³ ⁹⁷⁴ ⁹⁷⁵ ⁹⁷⁶ ⁹⁷⁷ ⁹⁷⁸ ⁹⁷⁹ ⁹⁸⁰ ⁹⁸¹ ⁹⁸² ⁹⁸³ ⁹⁸⁴ ⁹⁸⁵ ⁹⁸⁶ ⁹⁸⁷ ⁹⁸⁸ ⁹⁸⁹ ⁹⁹⁰ ⁹⁹¹ ⁹⁹² ⁹⁹³ ⁹⁹⁴ ⁹⁹⁵ ⁹⁹⁶ ⁹⁹⁷ ⁹⁹⁸ ⁹⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰⁰

The population of the savannah villages decreased during this period because of death from disease and loss of people to the river banks. However, the villages themselves persisted as strong social units. Two factors are mainly responsible for this: First, the chieftain, instead of losing function, actually became more important, and for some time the villages became politically more tightly integrated. The chief now had the additional position as intermediary with the white man and as such was the source of trade goods; the modern Mundurucu still speak of the days when "chiefs were strong and bought everything for the people." After the patrons became firmly established and gained influence among the Indians, they began to appoint their own "chiefs," frequently without regard for the traditional system of inheritance. In time, as will be seen, this undermined the chieftaincy and became a source of conflict. Second, warfare, for both mercenary

¹⁷⁵ ⁶⁴⁸ ¹⁷⁶ ⁶⁴⁹ ¹⁷⁷ ⁶⁵⁰ ¹⁷⁸ ⁶⁵¹ ¹⁷⁹ ⁶⁵² ¹⁸⁰ ⁶⁵³ ¹⁸¹ ⁶⁵⁴ ¹⁸² ⁶⁵⁵ ¹⁸³ ⁶⁵⁶ ¹⁸⁴ ⁶⁵⁷ ¹⁸⁵ ⁶⁵⁸ ¹⁸⁶ ⁶⁵⁹ ¹⁸⁷ ⁶⁶⁰ ¹⁸⁸ ⁶⁶¹ ¹⁸⁹ ⁶⁶² ¹⁹⁰ ⁶⁶³ ¹⁹¹ ⁶⁶⁴ ¹⁹² ⁶⁶⁵ ¹⁹³ ⁶⁶⁶ ¹⁹⁴ ⁶⁶⁷ ¹⁹⁵ ⁶⁶⁸ ¹⁹⁶ ⁶⁶⁹ ¹⁹⁷ ⁶⁷⁰ ¹⁹⁸ ⁶⁷¹ ¹⁹⁹ ⁶⁷² ²⁰⁰ ⁶⁷³ ²⁰¹ ⁶⁷⁴ ²⁰² ⁶⁷⁵ ²⁰³ ⁶⁷⁶ ²⁰⁴ ⁶⁷⁷ ²⁰⁵ ⁶⁷⁸ ²⁰⁶ ⁶⁷⁹ ²⁰⁷ ⁶⁸⁰ ²⁰⁸ ⁶⁸¹ ²⁰⁹ ⁶⁸² ²¹⁰ ⁶⁸³ ²¹¹ ⁶⁸⁴ ²¹² ⁶⁸⁵ ²¹³ ⁶⁸⁶ ²¹⁴ ⁶⁸⁷ ²¹⁵ ⁶⁸⁸ ²¹⁶ ⁶⁸⁹ ²¹⁷ ⁶⁹⁰ ²¹⁸ ⁶⁹¹ ²¹⁹ ⁶⁹² ²²⁰ ⁶⁹³ ²²¹ ⁶⁹⁴ ²²² ⁶⁹⁵ ²²³ ⁶⁹⁶ ²²⁴ ⁶⁹⁷ ²²⁵ ⁶⁹⁸ ²²⁶ ⁶⁹⁹ ²²⁷ ⁷⁰⁰ ⁷⁰¹ ⁷⁰² ⁷⁰³ ⁷⁰⁴ ⁷⁰⁵ ⁷⁰⁶ ⁷⁰⁷ ⁷⁰⁸ ⁷⁰⁹ ⁷¹⁰ ⁷¹¹ ⁷¹² ⁷¹³ ⁷¹⁴ ⁷¹⁵ ⁷¹⁶ ⁷¹⁷ ⁷¹⁸ ⁷¹⁹ ⁷²⁰ ⁷²¹ ⁷²² ⁷²³ ⁷²⁴ ⁷²⁵ ⁷²⁶ ⁷²⁷ ⁷²⁸ ⁷²⁹ ⁷³⁰ ⁷³¹ ⁷³² ⁷³³ ⁷³⁴ ⁷³⁵ ⁷³⁶ ⁷³⁷ ⁷³⁸ ⁷³⁹ ⁷⁴⁰ ⁷⁴¹ ⁷⁴² ⁷⁴³ ⁷⁴⁴ ⁷⁴⁵ ⁷⁴⁶ ⁷⁴⁷ ⁷⁴⁸ ⁷⁴⁹ ⁷⁵⁰ ⁷⁵¹ ⁷⁵² ⁷⁵³ ⁷⁵⁴ ⁷⁵⁵ ⁷⁵⁶ ⁷⁵⁷ ⁷⁵⁸ ⁷⁵⁹ ⁷⁶⁰ ⁷⁶¹ ⁷⁶² ⁷⁶³ ⁷⁶⁴ ⁷⁶⁵ ⁷⁶⁶ ⁷⁶⁷ ⁷⁶⁸ ⁷⁶⁹ ⁷⁷⁰ ⁷⁷¹ ⁷⁷² ⁷⁷³ ⁷⁷⁴ ⁷⁷⁵ ⁷⁷⁶ ⁷⁷⁷ ⁷⁷⁸ ⁷⁷⁹ ⁷⁸⁰ ⁷⁸¹ ⁷⁸² ⁷⁸³ ⁷⁸⁴ ⁷⁸⁵ ⁷⁸⁶ ⁷⁸⁷ ⁷⁸⁸ ⁷⁸⁹ ⁷⁹⁰ ⁷⁹¹ ⁷⁹² ⁷⁹³ ⁷⁹⁴ ⁷⁹⁵ ⁷⁹⁶ ⁷⁹⁷ ⁷⁹⁸ ⁷⁹⁹ ⁸⁰⁰ ⁸⁰¹ ⁸⁰² ⁸⁰³ ⁸⁰⁴ ⁸⁰⁵ ⁸⁰⁶ ⁸⁰⁷ ⁸⁰⁸ ⁸⁰⁹ ⁸¹⁰ ⁸¹¹ ⁸¹² ⁸¹³ ⁸¹⁴ ⁸¹⁵ ⁸¹⁶ ⁸¹⁷ ⁸¹⁸ ⁸¹⁹ ⁸²⁰ ⁸²¹ ⁸²² ⁸²³ ⁸²⁴ ⁸²⁵ ⁸²⁶ ⁸²⁷ ⁸²⁸ ⁸²⁹ ⁸³⁰ ⁸³¹ ⁸³² ⁸³³ ⁸³⁴ ⁸³⁵ ⁸³⁶ ⁸³⁷ ⁸³⁸ ⁸³⁹ ⁸⁴⁰ ⁸⁴¹ ⁸⁴² ⁸⁴³ ⁸⁴⁴ ⁸⁴⁵ ⁸⁴⁶ ⁸⁴⁷ ⁸⁴⁸ ⁸⁴⁹ ⁸⁵⁰ ⁸⁵¹ ⁸⁵² ⁸⁵³ ⁸⁵⁴ ⁸⁵⁵ ⁸⁵⁶ ⁸⁵⁷ ⁸⁵⁸ ⁸⁵⁹ ⁸⁶⁰ ⁸⁶¹ ⁸⁶² ⁸⁶³ ⁸⁶⁴ ⁸⁶⁵ ⁸⁶⁶ ⁸⁶⁷ ⁸⁶⁸ ⁸⁶⁹ ⁸⁷⁰ ⁸⁷¹ ⁸⁷² ⁸⁷³ ⁸⁷⁴ ⁸⁷⁵ ⁸⁷⁶ ⁸⁷⁷ ⁸⁷⁸ ⁸⁷⁹ ⁸⁸⁰ ⁸⁸¹ ⁸⁸² ⁸⁸³ ⁸⁸⁴ ⁸⁸⁵ ⁸⁸⁶ ⁸⁸⁷ ⁸⁸⁸ ⁸⁸⁹ ⁸⁹⁰ ⁸⁹¹ ⁸⁹² ⁸⁹³ ⁸⁹⁴ ⁸⁹⁵ ⁸⁹⁶ ⁸⁹⁷ ⁸⁹⁸ ⁸⁹⁹ ⁹⁰⁰ ⁹⁰¹ ⁹⁰² ⁹⁰³ ⁹⁰⁴ ⁹⁰⁵ ⁹⁰⁶ ⁹⁰⁷ ⁹⁰⁸ ⁹⁰⁹ ⁹¹⁰ ⁹¹¹ ⁹¹² ⁹¹³ ⁹¹⁴ ⁹¹⁵ ⁹¹⁶ ⁹¹⁷ ⁹¹⁸ ⁹¹⁹ ⁹²⁰ ⁹²¹ ⁹²² ⁹²³ ⁹²⁴ ⁹²⁵ ⁹²⁶ ⁹²⁷ ⁹²⁸ ⁹²⁹ ⁹³⁰ ⁹³¹ ⁹³² ⁹³³ ⁹³⁴ ⁹³⁵ ⁹³⁶ ⁹³⁷ ⁹³⁸ ⁹³⁹ ⁹⁴⁰ ⁹⁴¹ ⁹⁴² ⁹⁴³ ⁹⁴⁴ ⁹⁴⁵ ⁹⁴⁶ ⁹⁴⁷ ⁹⁴⁸ ⁹⁴⁹ ⁹⁵⁰ ⁹⁵¹ ⁹⁵² ⁹⁵³ ⁹⁵⁴ ⁹⁵⁵ ⁹⁵⁶ ⁹⁵⁷ ⁹⁵⁸ ⁹⁵⁹ ⁹⁶⁰ ⁹⁶¹ ⁹⁶² ⁹⁶³ ⁹⁶⁴ ⁹⁶⁵ ⁹⁶⁶ ⁹⁶⁷ ⁹⁶⁸ ⁹⁶⁹ ⁹⁷⁰ ⁹⁷¹ ⁹⁷² ⁹⁷³ ⁹⁷⁴ ⁹⁷⁵ ⁹⁷⁶ ⁹⁷⁷ ⁹⁷⁸ ⁹⁷⁹ ⁹⁸⁰ ⁹⁸¹ ⁹⁸² ⁹⁸³ ⁹⁸⁴ ⁹⁸⁵ ⁹⁸⁶ ⁹⁸⁷ ⁹⁸⁸ ⁹⁸⁹ ⁹⁹⁰ ⁹⁹¹ ⁹⁹² ⁹⁹³ ⁹⁹⁴ ⁹⁹⁵ ⁹⁹⁶ ⁹⁹⁷ ⁹⁹⁸ ⁹⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰⁰

¹⁷⁵ ⁶⁴⁸ ¹⁷⁶ ⁶⁴⁹ ¹⁷⁷ ⁶⁵⁰ ¹⁷⁸ ⁶⁵¹ ¹⁷⁹ ⁶⁵² ¹⁸⁰ ⁶⁵³ ¹⁸¹ ⁶⁵⁴ ¹⁸² ⁶⁵⁵ ¹⁸³ ⁶⁵⁶ ¹⁸⁴ ⁶⁵⁷ ¹⁸⁵ ⁶⁵⁸ ¹⁸⁶ ⁶⁵⁹ ¹⁸⁷ ⁶⁶⁰ ¹⁸⁸ ⁶⁶¹ ¹⁸⁹ ⁶⁶² ¹⁹⁰ ⁶⁶³ ¹⁹¹ ⁶⁶⁴ ¹⁹² ⁶⁶⁵ ¹⁹³ ⁶⁶⁶ ¹⁹⁴ ⁶⁶⁷ ¹⁹⁵ ⁶⁶⁸ ¹⁹⁶ ⁶⁶⁹ ¹⁹⁷ ⁶⁷⁰ ¹⁹⁸ ⁶⁷¹ ¹⁹⁹ ⁶⁷² ²⁰⁰ ⁶⁷³ ²⁰¹ ⁶⁷⁴ ²⁰² ⁶⁷⁵ ²⁰³ ⁶⁷⁶ ²⁰⁴ ⁶⁷⁷ ²⁰⁵ ⁶⁷⁸ ²⁰⁶ ⁶⁷⁹ ²⁰⁷ ⁶⁸⁰ ²⁰⁸ ⁶⁸¹ ²⁰⁹ ⁶⁸² ²¹⁰ ⁶⁸³ ²¹¹ ⁶⁸⁴ ²¹² ⁶⁸⁵ ²¹³ ⁶⁸⁶ ²¹⁴ ⁶⁸⁷ ²¹⁵ ⁶⁸⁸ ²¹⁶ ⁶⁸⁹ ²¹⁷ ⁶⁹⁰ ²¹⁸ ⁶⁹¹ ²¹⁹ ⁶⁹² ²²⁰ ⁶⁹³ ²²¹ ⁶⁹⁴ ²²² ⁶⁹⁵ ²²³ ⁶⁹⁶ ²²⁴ ⁶⁹⁷ ²²⁵ ⁶⁹⁸ ²²⁶ ⁶⁹⁹ ²²⁷ ⁷⁰⁰ ⁷⁰¹ ⁷⁰² ⁷⁰³ ⁷⁰⁴ ⁷⁰⁵ ⁷⁰⁶ ⁷⁰⁷ ⁷⁰⁸ ⁷⁰⁹ ⁷¹⁰ ⁷¹¹ ⁷¹² ⁷¹³ ⁷¹⁴ ⁷¹⁵ ⁷¹⁶ ⁷¹⁷ ⁷¹⁸ ⁷¹⁹ ⁷²⁰ ⁷²¹ ⁷²² ⁷²³ ⁷²⁴ ⁷²⁵ ⁷²⁶ ⁷²⁷ ⁷²⁸ ⁷²⁹ ⁷³⁰ ⁷³¹ ⁷³² ⁷³³ ⁷³⁴ ⁷³⁵ ⁷³⁶ ⁷³⁷ ⁷³⁸ ⁷³⁹ ⁷⁴⁰ ⁷⁴¹ ⁷⁴² ⁷⁴³ ⁷⁴⁴ ⁷⁴⁵ ⁷⁴⁶ ⁷⁴⁷ ⁷⁴⁸ ⁷⁴⁹ ⁷⁵⁰ ⁷⁵¹ ⁷⁵² ⁷⁵³ ⁷⁵⁴ ⁷⁵⁵ ⁷⁵⁶ ⁷⁵⁷ ⁷⁵⁸ ⁷⁵⁹ ⁷⁶⁰ ⁷⁶¹ ⁷⁶² ⁷⁶³ ⁷⁶⁴ ⁷⁶⁵ ⁷⁶⁶ ⁷⁶⁷ ⁷⁶⁸ ⁷⁶⁹ ⁷⁷⁰ ⁷⁷¹ ⁷⁷² ⁷⁷³ ⁷⁷⁴ ⁷⁷⁵ ⁷⁷⁶ ⁷⁷⁷ ⁷⁷⁸ ⁷⁷⁹ ⁷⁸⁰ ⁷⁸¹ ⁷⁸² ⁷⁸³ ⁷⁸⁴ ⁷⁸⁵ ⁷⁸⁶ ⁷⁸⁷ ⁷⁸⁸ ⁷⁸⁹ ⁷⁹⁰ ⁷⁹¹ ⁷⁹² ⁷⁹³ ⁷⁹⁴ ⁷⁹⁵ ⁷⁹⁶ ⁷⁹⁷ ⁷⁹⁸ ⁷⁹⁹ ⁸⁰⁰ ⁸⁰¹ ⁸⁰² ⁸⁰³ ⁸⁰⁴ ⁸⁰⁵ ⁸⁰⁶ ⁸⁰⁷ ⁸⁰⁸ ⁸⁰⁹ ⁸¹⁰ ⁸¹¹ ⁸¹² ⁸¹³ ⁸¹⁴ ⁸¹⁵ ⁸¹⁶ ⁸¹⁷ ⁸¹⁸ ⁸¹⁹ ⁸²⁰ ⁸²¹ ⁸²² ⁸²³ ⁸²⁴ ⁸²⁵ ⁸²⁶ ⁸²⁷ ⁸²⁸ ⁸²⁹ ⁸³⁰ ⁸³¹ ⁸³² ⁸³³ ⁸³⁴ ⁸³⁵ ⁸³⁶ ⁸³⁷ ⁸³⁸ ⁸³⁹ ⁸⁴⁰ ⁸⁴¹ ⁸⁴² ⁸⁴³ ⁸⁴⁴ ⁸⁴⁵ ⁸⁴⁶ ⁸⁴⁷ ⁸⁴⁸ ⁸⁴⁹ ⁸⁵⁰ ⁸⁵¹ ⁸⁵² ⁸⁵³ ⁸⁵⁴ ⁸⁵⁵ ⁸⁵⁶ ⁸⁵⁷ ⁸⁵⁸ ⁸⁵⁹ ⁸⁶⁰ ⁸⁶¹ ⁸⁶² ⁸⁶³ ⁸⁶⁴ ⁸⁶⁵ ⁸⁶⁶ ⁸⁶⁷ ⁸⁶⁸ ⁸⁶⁹ ⁸⁷⁰ ⁸⁷¹ ⁸⁷² ⁸⁷³ ⁸⁷⁴ ⁸⁷⁵ ⁸⁷⁶ ⁸⁷⁷ ⁸⁷⁸ ⁸⁷⁹ ⁸⁸⁰ ⁸⁸¹ ⁸⁸² ⁸⁸³ ⁸⁸⁴ ⁸⁸⁵ ⁸⁸⁶ ⁸⁸⁷ ⁸⁸⁸ ⁸⁸⁹ ⁸⁹⁰ ⁸⁹¹ ⁸⁹² ⁸⁹³ ⁸⁹⁴ ⁸⁹⁵ ⁸⁹⁶ ⁸⁹⁷ ⁸⁹⁸ ⁸⁹⁹ ⁹⁰⁰ ⁹⁰¹ ⁹⁰² ⁹⁰³ ⁹⁰⁴ ⁹⁰⁵ ⁹⁰⁶ ⁹⁰⁷ ⁹⁰⁸ ⁹⁰⁹ ⁹¹⁰ ⁹¹¹ ⁹¹² ⁹¹³ ⁹¹⁴ ⁹¹⁵ ⁹¹⁶ ⁹¹⁷ ⁹¹⁸ ⁹¹⁹ ⁹²⁰ ⁹²¹ ⁹²² ⁹²³ ⁹²⁴ ⁹²⁵ ⁹²⁶ ⁹²⁷ ⁹²⁸ ⁹²⁹ ⁹³⁰ ⁹³¹ ⁹³² ⁹³³ ⁹³⁴ ⁹³⁵ ⁹³⁶ ⁹³⁷ ⁹³⁸ ⁹³⁹ ⁹⁴⁰ ⁹⁴¹ ⁹⁴² ⁹⁴³ ⁹⁴⁴ ⁹⁴⁵ ⁹⁴⁶ ⁹⁴⁷ ⁹⁴⁸ ⁹⁴⁹ ⁹⁵⁰ ⁹⁵¹ ⁹⁵² ⁹⁵³ ⁹⁵⁴ ⁹⁵⁵ ⁹⁵⁶ ⁹⁵⁷ ⁹⁵⁸ ⁹⁵⁹ ⁹⁶⁰ ⁹⁶¹ ⁹⁶² ⁹⁶³ ⁹⁶⁴ ⁹⁶⁵ ⁹⁶⁶ ⁹⁶⁷ ⁹⁶⁸ ⁹⁶⁹ ⁹⁷⁰ ⁹⁷¹ ⁹⁷² ⁹⁷³ ⁹⁷⁴ ⁹⁷⁵ ⁹⁷⁶ ⁹⁷⁷ ⁹⁷⁸ ⁹⁷⁹ ⁹⁸⁰ ⁹⁸¹ ⁹⁸² ⁹⁸³ ⁹⁸⁴ ⁹⁸⁵ ⁹⁸⁶ ⁹⁸⁷ ⁹⁸⁸ ⁹⁸⁹ ⁹⁹⁰ ⁹⁹¹ ⁹⁹² ⁹⁹³ ⁹⁹⁴ ⁹⁹⁵ ⁹⁹⁶ ⁹⁹⁷ ⁹⁹⁸ ⁹⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰⁰

ECONOMIC LIFE

422 shotguns. A scattering of breech-loading shotguns and Winchester .44-caliber carbines is also found in the savannah villages. Each man also possesses a few fishhooks and some line, steel axes, knives, a machete, and usually a hoe. Other items of personal property include a hammock, two sets of cotton shirts and trousers, and a variety of such miscellaneous things as buckshot, a comb, matches, and cigarette papers.

Female property includes metal household utensils, ceramic pots, dresses, hammocks, needles and thread, scissors, knives, baskets, beads, brilliantine, hammock looms, tin cans, and a variety of gew-gaws. Items of personal property are given away if the request is persistently and strongly phrased, but these gifts are generally in nonutilitarian articles. Horns, knives, and similar items are less often requested, but they are freely loaned.

434 Trade and the influx of manufactured items have greatly expanded the inventory of Mandurucu personal property. 436 But there is no indication of any differentiation of the population by wealth. The only productive resources owned 438 by individual Mandurucu are the rubber avenues, and every man has one. The savannah Mandurucu derive no 440 profit from the labor of others nor do they maintain com-
mercial relations with their fellows.

SOLIDARITY AND FISSION

the right to exploit the trees reached by the path; no concept of land or territorial private property is implied. Also, a man's right to a rubber avenue is recognized as valid and absolute only as long as he works it. If he abandons it, it may be worked by another after the former owner's permission is asked. If the owner of a rubber avenue dies, it passes to a son or son-in-law, who may either work it or dispose of it. Rubber avenues are not bought and sold by the Mundurucu and are not in themselves subject to commercial transaction. But despite this, they form the only type of natural resource subject to private ownership in this society. This fact gains increasing social importance in direct ratio to the dependence of the Mundurucu on the returns of rubber production. As this dependence increases, so does its individualizing effect on the society. [423] [428] [162]

Almost all Mundurucu tap rubber on land reserved by the government for their use. The traders do not have any right of allocation of these rubber avenues, as they do in the areas under their control. Technically, the Indian is an independent producer, working on his own property as a free laborer, and selling on the market. But the same system of exclusive patronage and debt obligation that prevails in the Amazon has been extended to the native population, and the market is not an open one. That the Indian cannot be dispossessed from his rubber avenue, and that he does not rely on the trader for food give him somewhat more independence than the Brazilian rubber tapper, how- [657] [648] [434] [472]

Other, traditional bonds, reinforce the patron-client relationship. The tie is sometimes conceived of as between the trader and the leader of a group of Indians, as in the instance of the chief of Cabruá, who trades on behalf of a bloc of villagers. The patron thus counts on the loyalty of these followers to their chief. In other cases, the bond is [439] [466] [648]

SOLIDARITY AND FISSION

439 an individual one. The patron is seen as the person who
 466 gives valued objects and who must be given something in
 648 return. Most residents of Cabruá gave sincere personal
 loyalty to their particular trader. This was often rational-
 ized by the claim that one's own trader sold at cheaper
 prices and had more merchandise, but actually this is an
 interpersonal tie, defined by traditional status positions
 and role behavior, that has evolved through more than a
 century of commerce with Brazilians.

439 The client-patron relationship applies also to that be-
 609 tween the Mundurucú and all white men of similar pre-
 648 stige position. The trader is called *katiwat*; or also *compá*,
 a corruption of the Brazilian term *compadre*, or co-father.
 The latter title was evidently learned from the white rub-
 ber collectors, for although the patron seldom acts as god-
 parent to the children of Indians, he commonly does so
 for his Brazilian clients. Upon our arrival among the Mun-
 123 durucú, I found myself being called by these terms, and I
 was expected by the Indians to assume the patron role.
 Many Indians understandably misunderstood our mission,
 and our large amount of supplies convinced them that I
 was a trader. Accordingly, some appeared with balls of
 smoked latex, in return for which they wished mer-
 chandise. After it was realized that we did not fit into the
 patron-client relationship, the people of Cabruá were will-
 ing to integrate us into the collective village economy and
 to designate us by kinship terms.

439 Firsthand contact between the Mundurucú of the savan-
 648 nahs and their Brazilian neighbors can hardly be termed
 484 intensive or large-scale, but it is regular. The trader gen-
 erally visits his customers at four- or six-week intervals
 during the rubber-collection season and sporadically dur-
 ing the rains. He brings two or three employees, some of
 whom are Mundurucú, on these trips, and rarely remains